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REPORT OF THE POST DOCTORAL FELLOW

THE POLITICS OF INCLUSIVENESS: GENDER REPRESENTATION IN KARNATAKA LEGISLATURE

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CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

The constitution of India is based on the principle of equality and guarantees, equality before law and equal protection of its citizens. It not only guarantees fundamental rights and freedom but also prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth. However the question of applicability of these rights needs to be properly addressed as such the issue of gender rights particularly in the political domin has to be interfaced since it involves the many other domains in the society.

The important area were women have been inadequately represented is in the political sphere, Article 325 and 326 of the Indian Constitution guarantee political equality. But the right to equal political representation is still distant reality. The panchayath and urban local bodies do have reservation for women in Parliament and the state legislature have neglected their representation even after 64 years of Indian democracy.

Importance

According to the provisional census 2011 the state of Karnataka has 49.1% women population. The women's representation has been mostly neglected in the legislature. In the first legislative assembly in the year 1951women;s representation was just 2.6% and it was increased to 7.2%. In 1957 third assembly witnessed the women's representation 8.6%. But in the fourth assembly it was decreased 5% so that women's in the state legislature have only 2.3%.Fifth (1972) worked without women's representation. Sixth assembly (1978) 3.5% representation. Seventh (1983) eighth (1985), ninth (1989), tenth (1994), eleventh (1999), twelfth (2004) thirteenth(2008) and fourteen (2013) assembly women's representation were 0.44%, 3.5%, 3.12%,2.67%, 2.67%, 2.23% and 2.8% respectively.

Objectives

- To identify the strength and weakness of gender inclusiveness in the political system
- To define the nature of political representation.
- To analyze comparatively the role of elected representatives of legislative assembly and council
- To examine the historical role of women representatives who have been the source of representation to others

Methodology

The definition of political participation and representation encompasses the large area comprising a wide range of activities. The scope of study is limited to addressing women's participation and representation only in electoral politics.

The political representation for this study has been defined to mean and include participation of women in terms of their numbers. The quality of their participation and the involvement in effective decision making in legislature and the electoral process as candidates elected representatives and constituencies will be the serious issues to be encountered.

The source of information

Information for this study will be primarily collected from secondary sources and has been supplemented with primary information in certain areas. The range from statistics regarding women's representation in the state legislature. The quantitative information that includes case studies, depats and critics of the women's participation and representation.

The scope for analysis from assembly (1951) to fourteenth assembly (2013). At this point I would like to reiterate and emphasis need for generation, data base through micro studies.

CHAPTER-2

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND WOMEN IN INDIA

Democracy implies equality for all human persons, men and women. As against this basic notion of democracy what is normally seen is that women are excluded from different walks of life, more visibly in Politics. The U.N. observes that women constitute "world's largest excluded category". For the attainment of true democratic spirtt shall be ensured better political participation. "In the struggle for gender justice", Usha Narayanan argues, "political participation constitutes the first and foremost step in that direction.'".

Equal treatment to women in political life, to be meaningful and effective should start from the grassroots level. To provide training and practice in the process of decision-making, the rural democratic institutions are the ideal structures to begin with. One of the aims of the **731d** Constitutional Amendment Act is to accomplish this purpos?. "The question of political empowerment of women in rural India has assumed considerable significance recently because of the **73rd** Constitutional Amendmerit Act. The amendment provides reservation of seats and posts of chairperson tor women in all grassroots level democratic institutions in the countryside known as panchayats. This is a historic step of far reaching implications and significant repercussions on the political process in rural india."

"As long as women of lndia",declared Mahatma Gandhi in 1925, "do not take part in public life, therc can be no salvation for the country". He further declared, "As long as women do not come to public life and purify.. .. we are not likely to attain swaraj". "Ever if we did", he added, "it would have no use for that kind of swaraj to which women have not made their full contribution.'". The recent constitutional amendment acts provided greater opportunities to women in various aspects of political life. This chapter seeks to deal with the concept of political participation and role of women in the Indian and Karnataka perspectives.

What is Political Participation?

The study of political partic pation of any society or section of people needs to take into account whether or not it is associated with democratic values. The level and extent of political participation of people may be restricted by the very existence of both natural and man-made inequalities. While it is impossible to overcome natural factors of inequalities, it is possible to overcome man-made inequalities simply by adopting and following of democratic principles and values. The pillars of democracy like liberty, equality, fraternity, justice etc. are strong enough to support and protect the people from the challenges posed by man-made inequalities.

Thus the study of the nature and level of political participation and its resultant empowerment can be e1aluated only on the basis of the availability of democratic values. The presence of the umbrella of democracy is a pre-requisite for the attainment of maximurn extent of participation and empowerment. Empowerment is not characterist:d as achieving power to dominate others, but rather power to act with others to effect change. Political participation is a major component of enipowem?ent. "Research in participation and empowerment links them bi-directionally, empowered individuals may be more likely to participate in organisations, and participation promotes empowerment."

The term political participation generally refers to those voluntary activities of members of a society, in the st:lection of rulers and formation of public policy. Since popular sovereignty is one of the inseparable attributes of democracy, the right to participate is an importmt aspect of democratic government and an inherent right in a democratic proct:ss.

Political participation is **.i** basic ingredient of every political system. Participation helps the individual to be effective and associates him with the political system. Higher the rate a : dlevels, the more varied the forms of political participation. It is vital to the proper functioning of a democratic polity. The International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences deiined political participation as the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to

the ruled.5 It signifies such proceedings like voting, seeking information, discussing and proselytising, attending meetings, contributing financially and communicating with representatives.

Many writers have rightly argued that political participation of citizens is the distinguishing mark of nioderi states. More than anything else, the modem state is distinguished from the Paditional ones by the extent to which people participate in politics.' High levels of political participation are usually associated with den~ocracy,which is beneficial both to the individual and to the society. Political participation has been considered as a 'sine qua non' of democracy.

Political participation has been characterised as a civic duty, as a sign of political health and the best method of ensuring that one's private interests are not neglected. Although political power in every society is monopolised by a few, the incumbents of political authority in every system are found to be quite keen on ensuring some amount of political participation by the people. Thus, by involving the many in the matters of the state, political participation fosters stability and order by reinforcing the legitimacal of political authority.

Political participation is a term that has many meanings. The term is applied to the activities of people from all levels of political system. Sometimes the tern1 is applied more to poiitical orientations than to activities. Political participation is defined in such a way as to include the exercise of power in non-governmental as well as governme~~talspheres. It is true that there exists a great deal of confusion with regard to what is meant by that term; "Participation may be viewed from two angles again-intensity and width. How deeply a person is involved in an issue and to what extent he would go towards achievement of this objective would determine the intznsity. Width arises because of the complex nature of political activity that requires participation in different issues ranging from casting votes to participating in a technical expert committee or becoming a minister. Political participation may t e defined as those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or support government and politics.'0 This definition is broader than most others, as it includes not only active roles that people pursue in order to influence

political outcomes but also ceremonial and support activities. To Almond and Powel, "political participationis the involvement of the members of the society in the decision making process of the system".

Mc Closky defines, "political participation implies those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly, in the formulation of public policy". Verba and Pye define it a:;, "Those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at infl~lencingthe selection of governmental personnel and the actions they take".

One of the most controve.sia1 questions to be answered in arriving at a definition of political participation is the element of will or intention of the people. In the ultimate analysis political llarticipation means a process of influencing the authoritative allocation of values for a soctety. For the successful functioning of democracy the maximum participation of people particularly at the lowest lekel is required. Panchayati Raj is an important political innovation and **LI** vital conduit i l l inaependent India, for popular participation in democratic development. I t is envisaged not merely as a method of implenientation of rural development policies and the dispersal of developnlental benefits, but niorc: importantly, as a training ground for the promotion of local initiative with a view to increasing people's political consciousness, awareness oftheir rights and direct p.3rticipation in self-rule.

Political participation is the hallmark of a democratic setup. Nature, success and effectiveness of democracy largely depend on the extent to which equal, effective and actual participation is provided by the system to all its citizens. As women comprise about half of the population, this section of society requires due attention in the system and a due share in process. Citizens' active participation in political affairs in a democracy is crucial and necessary because it provides legitimacy to the system and also strengthens the democratic fabric.I4 Democracy will fail in its objectives if women citizens lack equal opportunity to participate in the governmental decision-making process. They are to be equal partners in the nation-building and political development.

Political democracy requires at least a minimum of people's participation in the decision making process. Citizens' participation in political affairs is important because a situation which results in high participation by members of a group normally has higher potential for democracy.'5 Norman D. Palmer defines political participation as the involvement of citizens in such political activities, which directly or indirectly influence the behaviour and actions of decision-makers.I6 It may be viewed as any "Voluntary action, successful or unsuccessful, organised or unorganised, episodic or continuous, employing legitimate or illegitimate methods, intended to influence the choice of public policies, the administration of public affairs, or the choices of political leaders at any level of government, local or national."

It may be pointed out that zLII citizens do not participate equally or in the same manner in any political process. The political culture of a society greatly influences the nature of political participation of individuals. The real purpose and impact of participation is to make the citizen not a passive spectator but an agent in politics, to enable him to show his disagreement as much as to endorse what is proposed, as much to scctch Initiatives as to launch them, as much to revise, criticise and block as to push, prod and hasten.18 However, if political participation is to have any concrete meaning, particularly in a democratic setup, people should directly or indirectly take part in the decision-making processes which affect their day to day life.

Modes of Political Participation

The conceptualisation of political participation has been undergoing drastic changes. Such changes will have **;I** direct impact upon different modes of political participation. Citizens can participate in different and alternative ways to influence the government and the: political system. Until recently most survey studies of political participation confined their enquiry to a relatively limited set of political acts. Most of them asked whether a person had voted or not and some went on to ask about such behaviour as attendance at political meetings or rallies, working for a party, making a moretary contribution or seeking a public office.

However, these alternative ways of political participation depend on the types of citizens who participate, tile way in which they act, the amount of pressure they can to exert and the system's response towards their activities. Thus political participation is more than the vote and more than an activity in the electoral system. Verba and Nie grouped into four broad modes of participation the alternative activities by which citizens can participate in politics, i.e., voting, campaign activity, co-operative activity and citizen-initiated contact.' Milbrath and Goel add protest and communication to these modes mentioned by Verba and Nie, which relate individuals lo thc: polity. They are also of the view that political acts could be hierarchically organ~sedrroni the least difficult to the most difficult, if a person performed a more diff cult act, he was likely to perform those that are less difficult as well.

It is useful to' consider poltical participation in a hierarchical sense, but it should also be born in mind thal some levels of participation may be absent in some political systems.** Not all political system have elections or a form of voting, some systems severely restrict or ban public meetings and demonstrations, while others forbid the formation of political parties and other types of political or quasi-political orgnisation, and so on.*' Explaining the extent of political participation Michael Rush and Pliilip Althoff added that apathy, alienation and the use of violence vary clearly and considerably from system to system, but remain quite important factors in any examination of political participation.24

Examining the modes of political participation Schonfeld has mentioned ten types of activities which include [I) running for or holding public or party offices,

(2) belonging to a party or other ,Political organisation, (3) working in an election,

(4) attending political meetings o r rallies, (5) making financial contribution to a party or a candidate, (6) contac.:ing a public official, (7) publicly expressing a political opinion to convince others, (8)

partaking in political discussion, (9) voting, and (10) exposing oneseli'to political stimuli.

Political participation is the mother and politics is the child. The former creates and determines politics and hence is of utmost importance both for the nation and the individual. The politics of the nation is determined therefore, by political participation in all its processes.

Variables of Political Participation

Political participation appears to be a compiex phenomenon, a dependent variable that hinges upon many Sac.ors such as the psychological, socio-economic and political, which provide orientation to individuals either positively or negatively

Psychological Environment

Political participation tends to meet one's psychological needs of overcoming loneliness. It refers to the degree to which citizens are interested in and concerned about politics and public affairs. Psychological attachment of a person towards political objects certainly determines the extent and gravity of political participation.

In every society there are persons who are very much concerned and interested in political affairs and a . the same time there are persons who have no such concern and interest in political affairs. This difference may be due to the differences in their psychological attitudes. In this situation it becomes clear that the former are more likely to be active in politics than the latter. Again it is generally believed that men are psychologically more involved than women in politics as in their respective field of activity.

Socio-economic Environment

The socio-economic environment will have a direct impact upon political participation. Socio-economic variables include education, occupation, income, age, caste, religion, sex, family background, residence etc. "Political participation", says Robert Lane, " I S a function

of age, sex, education and statu~" . ~' Thus generally, participation tends to be higher among better educated, members of higher occupational and incor~ne groups, middle aged, dominant ethnic and religious groups, people with polilical family background, settled residents, urban dwellers and members of voluntary asociation .However, the correlation between political participation anti some of these socio-economic variables may vary from culture to culture in different political contexts and their effect on political participation may not be sable.

Political Environment

The overall political environments do influence the entire process of political participation to a great extent. The political environment refers to the nature of the party system, the electoral system, the means of propaganda and campaign, the extent of modernisation and urbanistaion, the influence of ideology the general awareness of the people etc.

The political party is the most potent instrument in facilitating political participation. The party resembles the nation both in its symbolic force and in its capacity for arousing affection, devotion and sacrifice on the part of its members and syliipathizers. The party alsc~inspires its members to develop a feeling of belongingness. It has been obseried that people, who affiliated to a party vote more frequently than those who ire not. Stronglattached. members are more active in political discussions and work.

The propaganda and electior~campaign refer to the efforts made by political parties to involve the voters in the orocess of political participation. The campaign has its effect on polarising party attachments, reinforcing candidate preferences and gaining votes. It is, in fact, **;i** process of pol.tical education. **A** significant aspect of the relation of the indiviaual to his political environment is his exposure to the influence of propaganda.

Political participation is the hallmark of democracy and modernisation. In the traditional society government and politics are concerns of a narrow elite." There is positive relationship between urban

residence and higher levels of political participation. It has been argued that urbanisation, combined with other component process of social mod~:rnisation, would bind the citizens with new ties to the nation state and increase th: extent of political communication that leads to greater political awarcncss."

Ideology can affect political participation, positively or negatively. Normally, those who have firm faith in democratic ideology positively respond to political participation. On the other hand, persons having contempt for democratic ideology show little inclination for political participation.

Political participation is associated with politicalawareness i.e., actual knowledge of political affairs. 4wareness is highly connected with interest. In every society the number of citizens who can be described as 'aware' is extremely small. Awareness affects both the quality and amount of participation.

It is to be noted that the three sets of variables are closely linked and intermingled. A change in any sne of them, can, therefore, increase or decrease the level of political participation.

The Non-participants

Another dimension that has to be taken into account is why some people keep off from all forms of political participation or even if they participate they are ready to play only a minimal role. I n other words people who participate in most forms of political activity const~tutea minority and often a very small minority. The factors, which inhibit po1itic:al participation, are psychological and emotional. The non-participants are described as apathetic, cynical, alienated and anemic."Apathy is characterised by individuals' passivity or abstention from political activity. It may be defined as lack of interest or concern for persons, situations or phenomena in general or particular.34 Apathy leads to the decline of political vitality and vigilance Widespread apathy increases the chances of opportunists and unscrupulous people to dominate the policy making process.1s Thus it is nothing other than lack of interest in polities.

Morris Rosenberg has suggested three major reasons for political apathy. The first reason is perceived consequence of political activity. Second reason is that the individual may regard political activity as futile. The third reason is that political stimuli is an important factor in encouraging political activity and the absence of such stimuli may contribute to feelings of apathy.

Cynicism is a feeling that the actions and motives of others are to be regarded with suspicion. Robert Auger and his colleagues define cynicism as being contemptuously distrustful of hum.in nature." It is observed that a person, who is extremely cynical may well feel that political participation in any form is futile and thus join the ranks of the totally ap;ithetic.'

Alienation is another form sf non- participation with respect to a political system. While cynicism refers to a type of distaste for politics and politicians, alienation denotes actual hostility.'9 Robert Lane defines political alienation as a "person's sense of estrangement fi.om the politics and government of his society and the tendency to think of the government and politics of the nation as run by others for others according to an unfair set of rules."

According to Robert Lane t~nemicrefers to "a sense of value loss and lack of direction". It denotes a psychological attitude in which the individual experiences a feeling of ineffectivc:ness. Thus while apathy means lack of interest and cynicism represents an attitude of distaste or disenchantment, both alienation and anemic imply a feeling of estritngement or divorce from the society.

Women and Political Participation

The present study is concerned not with political participation in general, but i t 1s only a micro-level study concerned with political participation of women that too at the grassroots levels of political functioning. Participation of women in Panchayati Raj institutions has

been an area of much interest in India. Participation in the local government i~istitutionshas been viewed as essential in promoting women's consciousness and developnlent at the local level as well as in training them for participation in the wider politics.

Democratic thinkers have n general linked liberty to the people by the process of political participation. Participation is maximised in local government because, "local institutions are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they put it within people's reach; they teach people to appreciate its peaceful enjoyment and accustom them to make use of it. Karl Mam stood in favour of mass involvement in the process. To hirn political participation by the masses is at once a process of education and of bullding up of a capacity for governing the new society.44 It is a fact that woman herself is an important variable capable of determining the nature and scope of political participation and as a result the whole political system in turn.

The attempt to assess and evaluate the level and extent of political participation of women become. very much relevant as to the nature and functioning of the polit~calsystem 3s a whole. It is particularly more beneficial to political parties and political leade~sdue to the natuial qualities of women such as honesty, affection and sense of dut;~.The mobilisation of women in large numbers weakened the bondage of tradition and encouraged them to develop a perspective on the wider socio-political probleris.45

When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted on **10** 'December, 1948, its Article 1 , proclaimed that, "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.artical 2 provided for equality of sexes. It states that, "every one is entitled to all the rights and freedoms without distinction of sex." It is considered as a clarion call for the cause of women empowerment. It is not an argument for feminism. "Feminism is the political theory and practice that struggles to free all women: women of colour, working class women."

Milbrath and Goel observed that it is a tradition in almost all societies that politics is mainly an affair of men and that women should

fall in line with them politically. The changes brought modern industrial societies are eroding this sex difference but the impact of tradition is still visible. Men tend to be more psychologically involved in politic5 than women.

Studies on sex differences in the political behaviour usually focus on differences in early childhood socialisation. Tedin, et.al, however, give more importance to situational facto-s in sex related differences in political expressiveness than to socialisation or structural factor women are less politically expressive because the environmsnt of the house wife or the menial sort of employment available to most wc'men does not encourage them to take part in politics or give stimulation to collect and discuss politically relevant information. Female situational factors, which lead to less political expressiveness become institutionalised and passed on to future generations through the socialisation process, which in turn makes it more difficult for women to overcome situational disadvantages.48

The U.N. Convention on tile Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women which is considered as the Human Rights Bill of Women (CEADAW) came into being in **1979.** This treaty upholds the following rights of women, (1). Their right to vote in all general elections and referendums and to be elected to general assemblies, (2) their right to participate in the formulation and implementation of governmental policies and to hold public offices and, (3) their right to participate in non-governmental and socio-political ranisations .

Discriniination against women, says Henry Chafe, finds in the deep rooted structure of society, i n the roles women play and in a sexual division of labuor which restricted females primarily to the domestic sphere of life." Therefore, it is argued that only substantial social changes capable of demolishing the structural basis regarding the traditional views of male and female roles is necessary to modify the existing trends in the political participation of men and women."

The political participation sr the political behavior of human beings just like any other aspects of human behavior take place in a given socio-

cultural setting. It implies that the political participation is affected by social structure, economic development and histxical factors joining together. The political behaviour of Muslim women should be understood in the Islamic perspective. It is observed that Islamic has given equal status in matters of religion and religious observations to men and women but politically they are unequal oness2 Marcia Lee believes that, lack of female participation in politics stems from three factors, namely, children at home, fear o 'sex discrimination and perceptions of women that certain things are not proper to do." The generally accepted sex - role socialization process is considered to be advantageous to males in the field of political participation although women may be interested in politics.

Women and Politics in India

The Indian society is full ocparadoxes. On the one hand, foreigners come in hordes to our country in search of spiritual solace but on the other hand, Indians rank among the most conupt peojelein the world. Again, on the one hand, India is spending niillions, nay, billions to send satellites to space to prove its scientific prowess but on the other the state can not provide almost half the population with the basic necessities of food, education, health and shelter.

The same paradox exists in the case of women too. On the one hand, the scriptures put them on a high peclestal. An old Sanskrit proverb is that, where the women are held in reverence there do the gods reside. The traditional belief in the Indian society is that, a society gr,Jws if the women grow, if they partake of the spirit of progress, for they are pro\,erbial domestic legislators, they are the matrix of social life.j4 In the Indian mythology, even God is regarded as half man, half woman-'ardh-narishwara'. On the other hand, according to the UNICEF's recent international report, "The Progress of Nations 1997", more than 5000 dowry deaths occur every year in india.

"Women's lives in India and the world over are circumscribed by what can be termed as five 'Ps' Patriarchy, Productive resources access inadequacy, Poverty, Promotion advancement insufficiency and owerlessness . It is estimated that women do two-thirds of the world's

work. In exchange they receive only 10 percent of all the income and own a mere one percent of all the world's means of production.

It is a fact that the real social status and the real level of political participation of women cannot be inalyzed in isolation. On the contrary it is inter-linked with the socio-economic conditions, political climate and inequalities inherent in the traditional social structure, its norms and values, customs and rituals. All these factors together cetermine the actual social status of women. Not only that, women's status differs according to region, caste, class and religion and also on considerations of tribal, rural and urban areas." The status of a person is a great force in participating wholeheartedly in the developmental process. In the case of women, their inferior status relegated to them due to fundamentalism of tradition and religious beliefs blocked them iiom active participation in developmental process.

Historically women are supposed to carry forward the traditions, norms and the values of society. The proct:ss of socialisation that they undergo in their families does not prepare them for non-traditional roles. Now,it is reasonable to Enquire about what the mainstream Indian culture expects a woman to be. In order to get a satisfactory answer to such a question, one will have to go through the corridors of the history of India.

Ancient India

In ancient India, reverence was given to women as mother's image, a symbol of life, strength and purit), with immense capacity for patience, sacrifice and sufferings. In the Vedic and Ul~anishadicperiods women enjoyed considerable freedom so far as political, social and educational activities were concerned and thus enjoyed a status and presti:;e in society. In homes, women were given superior position to that of men. as they were treated as the embodiment of goddess of wealth, strength and Woman was depicted as 'shakti', and it was an accepted belief that where woman is respected, there is divine presence.6' According lo Manu, where womt:n are neglected, all rites and ceremonies are fruitless and that family

quickly perjshes, but where women do not grieve that family always prospers.

Rig-Vedic women played a key role in the family, in the society and even in the political life.63 They enjoyed **:I** position of equality and were respected both in the family and society as well. They were not ornamental objects but co-partners in life, in its pleasures and hurdles, in its joys and sorrows.64 They were imparted education like men and enjoyed considerable freedom in their personal matters. These are evidences of women actively participating in the political activities. They participated in the deliberations of Vidhatha (the earliest folk assembly of Indo-Aryans) and Sabha along with men.

In short, it may be said thlt women enjoyed a fairly satisfactory position during ancient times. The commrlnities as a whole showed proper concern and respect for women, allowing them considerable freedom in different activities of social and political life.

The Medieval period witneised a gradual decline in the position and status of wonien i l l India. Women were considered weak and it was the responsibility of mall to protecl them. Since they were sensitive in temperament, they should be treated with love and care. They were considered dependent on men throughout their lives. In childhood the father looks after her, in youth the husband and in the old age her sons supported her. Therefore, all her life she had to depend on someone or the other and never en~oyedunrestrained freedom.

During this period, there erierged social evils like female infanticide, child marriage and the practice of sati in the Hindu society 'Such atrocious practices were responsible for the deterioration of the status and role of women to a great extent both in the family and in tl-e society. At the same time the spread of Islam and the beginning of Sikhism pl.ovided a healing touch to the degradation of women. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion, wanted women to be treated by men as equals. He said, "Within a woman is a man conceived, from a woman he is born, he is married to a woman an3 with her goes through life.. . Why call her bad. She gives birth to Kings. None may exist with out a woman. Only the one true God is exterior to womannbx. Ho~wever,it

was a fact that the position of common womenfolk i n the country remained miserable. Their only function was bearing and rearing of childreli. They wr:re conlined to the four walls of their homes, leading an ignorant and illiterate lire.

The Reform Movements

The disintegration of the Mughal Empire in the 181h century and the consequent political anarchy added to the miseries of Indian women. When the British rule started their position was the worst in the history of the country.69 From the ideological point of view women were considered an inferior species. She was inferior to male having n3 personality and significance. From the social point of view she was kept in a state of utter subjection, denied any right, totally suppressed and oppressed. "The !:ustoms of polygamy, the purdha, the denial of women's rights over property, child marriage, sati and ban on remarriage to widows - all these practices in t h ~ speriod resulted in the development of a very weak personality of women.

The British influence was positive in the direction of women's uplifiment. The close contacts with western c~lturatradition,l literature and education affected very deeply the minds of the Indian leaders. The natural result was the social movements for reforms of those evils, which were prevalent in the society. Consequently a number of reform novements emerged. The leaders and the social reformers of significance who were in the forefront of the struggle for women's emancipation were Raja RamMonanRoy, Ishwar Chandra Vidhyasagar, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Swami Vibekanand, Mahatma Gandhi, JawaharLal Nehru and such others." These soci;il reformers felt that the social evils can be eradicated by raising consciousne:;s and making people sensitive to the.injustice perpetrated on women. One of the important offshoots of the social reform movement was the establishment of the National Social Conference in 1887, which provided a forum for the reformers to discuss various practices and institutions which needed to be reformed.72 At this juncture there emerged a number of institutions organised by great soclal reformers led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy who is rightly called the father of

Indian Renaissance. The lgth century reform movements and social renaissance initiated the process of improving the status of women. While spreading consciousness and pride in indigenous cultural tradition, institutions like the Arya Samaj, Rama Krishna Mission, the Prarthana Samaj etc. encouraged social service, educational and reform activities to bring about social change favoring women's uplift7.

The struggle for the emancipation of women took place mainly in three directions - (1) to make necessary laws for social reforms; (2) to provide maximum opportunities for their education; and (3) provide them with the fundamental political rights.74 Attention was concentrated on the first two in the 19th and early 20th centuries whereas political rights of women got attention only during the last phase of the independence movement. With the beginning: of the twentieth century a number of organisations exclusively for womc,n appeared among high - caste or elite women. The All India Women's Conference, The National Council for Women, Women's lndian Association of Madras etc. came into existence.

Women in National Movement

The Indian National Movernent under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi inspired Indian women to enter the open field of politics. He recognized the importance of women's participation in the freedom struggle. He said, " In the non-violent struggle, women have an advantage over men, for women are in any way superior to men in their religious devotion. Silent and dignified service is the badge of her sex. Woman is sacritice personified. When she does a thing in the right spirit, she moves mountains".

In the Non Cooperation Movement of 1921 and the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930, new techniques like picketing and boycotting of foreign goods, liquor shops and non-cooperation in various governmental activities were used. Mahatma Gandhi had immense faith in the women's inner strength and their moral appeal. In various non-viclent agitations not only the upper class urban women but at many places, simple unsophisticated rural women also assumed leadership. Women

organised tht:mselves into groups and were willing to join processions, face police firing and go to prison. They broke the salt law, picketed shops selling liquor and boycotted foreign manufactured cloths. There were also women who joined terrorist group; and helped in editing and distributing banned news papers and even manufacturing bombs.

The independence movement brought the two streams of politically involved womenfolk together, the elite and the masses, both participated in the struggles for independence.79 Mahatma Gandhi encouraged women to participate in all aspects and phases of nationalist activities, particularly in the constructive programme and the non- violent satyagraha, for it required not physical strength but moral courage and spiritual tletermination. Thus the nationalist movement was, for Mahatma Gandhi, not merely a political struggle but a means of regenerating and rejuvenating the society.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who gave a new direction, strength and inspiration to the freedom movement. He played a pivotal role in extending women's active participation in political life through the national movement. While he accepted the concept of women's rights to iildividual dignity and legal equality from the beginning, he had viewed thew role in the freedom struggle as supportive of man in the earlier period."

Though the inlplications of Gandhian social philosophy were not fully realised even by his followers, thc massive involvement of women in the freedom struggle resulted in the transformation of women's position in the eyes of society.

By the time of independence women from all sections of society had become active in politics. Direct political participation promoted women's confidence and self-reliance ar d broke the barriers of public and private dichotomies in their lives.'* However, while the basic issue of women's right to participate in politics was thus sei.tled, the content of their political role continued to be an open question.

The social reform movement which began in the 19th century emphasized improvement of women's status through education, restriction of child marriage, improvement in the conditions of widows and provision of property rights to Hindu widows. ' The reformers were not very much interested in establishing

equality in roles between men and women. They saw women as custodians of the family and responsible for the well being of children, inculcating in them the cultural values and heritage of the Indian civilizations.

Women in Politics in Post-independent India

The constitution of free India has guaranteed all its citizens justice, liberty, equality and dignity through several provisions like documents of fundamental rights and directive principles. The constitution of India is the best in the world which has taken care of the underprivileged and the minorities. All our laws get their sanction from this constitutiori and any law which violates a provision of the constitution is declared unconstitutional.

The framers of the constitution realise that a true democracy requires not only equality but also justice. Tli s notion resulted in the Indian constitution, which not only grants equality to women but also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discriminatian in favour of women for neutralizing the cumulative socio- economic, educational and political disadvantages faced by them. Several articles are incorporated in the constitution in order to materialise the desired objective of equality and justice for the women in India. Besides the preamble, the articles of the constilution, which impinge on our subject of enquiry are Articles 14,15,16 under part 111, Articles 39, 42, 44 under part IV, Article 5 1 - A(c) under part IV A and Article 246 under part XI are noteworthy.

The right to vote can be said to be the starting point in the struggle of women for their political equality and participation. An analysis of the political participation of women by way o ' voting has been growing but with variations. The following table reveals the presentation age of female voting in Lok Sabha elections since the first general elections in 1952.

The political participation of women in terms of voting in elections is not pathetic compared to their participation and representation in law making and law implementing organs of the government. It doesn't mean that women failed to play their role by being elected to various elective bodies of the government, particularly in Parliament and Cabmet. Recognising their role, Raj Bala says, "As parliamentarians, they (women) have played important roles in the growth and development of parliamentary institutions in india . " The following table shall be a true indicator of the low profile of women's representation in parliament between 1952 and 2014.

The issue of women's representation in elected bodies and Council of Ministers came to the forefront yet again last year around this time, with the formation of the new Government in Delhi. The Aam Aadmi Party government led by Arvind Kejriwal, while taking many steps forward, took a step backward. And a very important one. He failed to induct women into his cabinet. This, once again, brought forth the age-old debate of inadequacy of women in our elected bodies and whether there should be constitutional and legal safeguards for women in Parliament and state assemblies. The third- tier of elected bodies, the Panchayats, have already implemented 33% reservation for women. Apart from the fact that half the population is systemically excluded from political participation, representation and decision-making, what do the numbers tell us about women's representation in Lok Sabha over the years?

Women in Lok Sabha

The first Lok Sabha in 1951 had 22 women MPs. The current Lok Sabha has 66. In the span of 54 years and 16 Lok Sabha elections it amounts to a three- fold increase in the number of women MPs that made their way to the lower house of the parliament. From 5% in 1951, women MPs constitute 12.2% of the Lok Sabha today. The rise in numbers has been

steady through the years, both in absolute numbers and percentages. The notable exceptions have been the dip in numbers during the 6th Lok Sabha in 1977, the 9th Lok Sabha in 1989 and most recently the 14th Lok Sabha in 2004. The trends show a marked and steady increase from 1991 onwards to the present Lok Sabha. The 1991 figures show a jump from 5% in the previous Lok Sabha to 7% and the steady increase from thereon (except for 2004). It would be interesting to understand the factors for this watershed year and continuous rise and also the fall in numbers during 2014.

S No	Year	Number of women MPs	Percentage of Women MPs
1	1951	22	4.50%
2	1957	22	4.45%
3	1962	31	6.28%
4	1967	29	5.58%
5	1971	28	5.41%
6	1977	19	3.51%
7	1980	28	5.29%
8	1984	43	7.95%
9	1989	29	5.48%
10	1991	39	7.30%
11	1996	40	7.37%
12	1998	43	7.92%
13	1999	49	9.02%
14	2004	45	8.29%
15	2009	59	10.87%
16	2014	66	12.15%

The average representation of women MPs(12.15%) is higher than the national average of women MLAs in state assemblies, which stands at a

dismal 9%. While the numbers have increased over the years, the percentage of women that make up the Lok Sabha even today is not a figure to be proud of, especially when the ideal number should be at 33% at least. We still have a long way to go

Representation of Women Members in Rajya Sabha (1952-2016)

Women Members Elected/Nominated in Rajya Sabha		
Year	**Women Members**	
	No.	**%**
1952	15	6.9
1954	16	7.3
1956	20	8.6
1958	22	9.5
1960	24	10.2
1962	17	7.6
1964	21	8.8
1966	23	9.6
1968	22	9.2
1970	14	5.8
1972	18	7.4
1974	17	7
1976	24	9.8
1978	25	10.2
1980	29	11.9
1982	24	9.8
1984	24	9.8
1986	28	11.5
1988	25	10.2
1990	24	9.8
1992	17	6.9
1994	20	8.2

1996	19	7.8
1998	19	7.8
1999	20	8.2
2000	22	9
2002	25	10.2
2004	28	11.4
2006	25	10.2
2008	24	9.8
2010	27	11
2012	24	9.8
2014	31	12.8
2016	27	11

Thus, the representation of women in the Lok Sabha as well as Rajya Sabha is very low when compared with their voting strength. Their numerical strength is also marginal in decision-making bodies. Only a very limited number of women have succeeded in getting berths i i the Council of Ministers. The following table 2.4 provides a clear picture as to their level of representation in the Union Council of Ministers.

The above table clearly shows that only a very few women have succeeded in getting into the Union Cabinet. In 1962 there were six women members and in succeeding years the number went down and rose to the nine in 1991. The only notable element was the presence of lndira

Gandhi, a different and extraordinary leader, who became the Prime hlinister for two consecutive terms in 1967 and 1971 and again in 1980.

Thus it seems clear that the actual political power remained something of a male domain and only few crumbs are thrown to women. Women are unjustifiably
rare in the decision-making bodies. More over, if anybody is elected to such bodies they will have to struggle hard to be counted for notable posts. This is the real situation that exists in India in terrns of political participation of women.

Throughout the world, one allegation is that women are treated as second class citizens. Often they are treated as subordinates to man almost in every place. As a result, the advancement of w'3men seems constrained at all levels.89

The United Nations Organisation gave special attention to the empowerment of women. Its decade of Women's Development (1975-1985) generated a lot of interest throughout the world. India also took special interests towards the problems of women. At this juncture, a number of women organisations came into being and started fighting for women's causes. They took a positive approach that they shoultl be perceived as dignified human beings instead of being treated as objects of pity.90

However, there was no meaningful effort to provide satisfactory representation for women in the legislative, executive and other similar bodies. Some cosmetic steps have been laken by both the Central and State governments just to ensure the women vote bank for election purposes.

I t was in this background that in September 1991, the Congress Government under P.V. Narasimha Rao introduced the 73rd (Panchayats) and 74Ih (Nagar Palikas) constitutional amendment bills in the parliament. They were referred to a joint select commi.tee and the Lok Sabha passed the bills on **22nd** December, 1992 and the Rajya Sabha, the following day. Following the ratification by more than half of the State

Assemblies, the President gave his assent on **2oth** April 1993, and the acts were brought into force by a government notification on 24'h April 1993 as the 1992 constitution (Seventy Third and Seventy Fourth) Amendment Acts. The Acts provide for one-third reservation of seats and offices of chairperson to women in the local self-government institutions throughout the country.

Women Representation in Assembly Elections

The table indicates that in 1957, 9 women contested in the elections to 127 member State Legislative Assembly and 6 were elected which puts women's share in the assembly at 4.72%. In 1960, 13 women contested to the 127 member house and 7 were elected bringing their share to 5.51%. In the next election in 1965 out of 10 women contestants, 3 were elected and their share in the Assembly came down to 2.23%.In the 1967 electitrns the number of women contestants was 7 and only one was successful marking a total share of 0.74% in the 134 member Assembly. In the 1970 elections out of the 8 women contestants, two were elected to the Assembly marking 1.49% of their share in the Assembly. In 1977 elections the picture relating to women's share in the State Assembly showed its lowest level. Out of the 11 contestants to ihe 140 member assembly only one got elected which puts women's share in it at a mere 0.70%. In 1980, 13 women contested and 5 were elected and thus women's share in the assembly stood at 3.54%. In 1982, 17 women contested the elections and only four were elected putting total women's share in the assembly at 2.83%. In 1987, 34 women entered the election fray and 8 were sent to the Asseml~lymarking a notable increase in the number of contestants and a small progress in the number those who were elected. In 1987 women's share in the 141 strong state Assembly stood at 5.67%. In 1991 elections the total percentage of women's share in the Assembly remained the same 5.67 though the number of contestants came down to 26.

A cross examination of wor~en' sshare in the state Assembly between 1957 and 1991 shows that their presence in the highest democratic institution in the state remained extremely low. When the number of contesting and successful candidates is taken into account, one

thing that strikes everyone is that women's participation in the election fray has been negligible and far below the optimum level. Although women have registered enviable success in all other walks of life, which demand administrative skill and intellectual acumen, they have not left their imprint on the political spectrum, which has remained a man's domain even after independence. Deliberately or otherwise women have been kept out of election fray remains a fact which deserves close scrutiny and lively actions. All the political parties, which clamour ior women's representation and empowerment, have failed to consider a womaii at the time of nominating the Anglo-Indian representative to the State Assembly.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE STATES LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Sl. No.	Name of State/ UT	Year of last General Election to Legislative Assembly	% of Women Contestants	Seats won by Women (%)	Registered Women Electors (%)	Women Votes Polled (%)	Women Votes Polled as % of Registered Women Electors
1	Andhra Pradesh	2014	8.08	9.2	32241794	23899017	74.1
					(49.69 %)	(49.31 %)	
2	Arunachal Pradeh	2014	3.87	3.3	379473	299237	78.9
					(50.1%	(49.8%)	

					)		
3	Assam	2016	8.55	6.34	9649238	8169835	90.38
					(48.26 %)	(51.15 %)	
4	Bihar	2015	7.91	11.5	31272523	18914687	-
					(46.64 %)	(49.78 %)	
5	Chhattisgarh	2013	8.42	11.1	8308557	6423948	77.3
					(49.18 %)	(49.09 %)	
6	Goa	2012	4.65	2.5	515194	435725	84.6
					(50.20 %)	(50.19 %)	
7	Gujarat	2012	5.82	8.8	18148715	12613257	69.5
					(47.63 %)	(45.97 %)	
8	Haryana	2014	5.65	10	5967308	4243222	71.1
					(45.49 %)	(44.70 %)	
9	Himachal Pradesh	2012	7.41	4.4	2234980	1702953	76.2
					(48.5%)	(50.27 %)	
10	Jammu and Kashmir	2014	3.36	2.3	3462092	2294469	66.2
					(47.41 %)	(47.57 %)	
11	Jharkh	2014	9.77	9.9	989692	663126	67

	and				4	0	
					(47.46 %)	(47.87 %)	
12	Karnataka	2013	5.94	2.7	21367912	15057361	70.5
					(48.91 %)	(47.98 %)	
13	Kerala	2016	9.14	5.71	13533244	10575485	78.14
					(51.84 %)	(53.25 %)	
14	Madhya Pradesh	2013	7.74	13	22064402	15465338	70.1
					(47.31 %)	(45.62 %)	
15	Maharashtra	2014	6.72	6.9	39315278	24438117	62.2
					(47.21 %)	(54.58 %)	
16	Manipur	2012	5.38	5	890886	724790	81.4
					(50.95 %)	(51.86 %)	
17	Meghalaya	2013	7.25	6.7	759608	671826	88.4
					(50.51 %)	(50.78 %)	
18	Mizoram	2013	4.23	0	350333	287676	82.1
					(50.71 %)	(49.92 %)	
19	Nagaland	2013	1.07	0	590150	538968	91.3
					(49.24 %)	(49.09 %)	

20	Odisha	2014	8.24	7.5	13987189	10430276	74.6
					(47.98%)	(48.42%)	
21	Punjab	2012	8.63	12	8383335	6614316	78.9
					(47.29%)	(47.55%)	
22	Rajasthan	2013	7.92	14	19307320	14566391	75.4
					(47.29%)	(47.15%)	
23	Sikkim	2014	9.09	9.4	179650	146197	81.4
					(48.55%)	(47.15%)	
24	Tamil Nadu	2016	8.58	9.33	29106485	21635103	74.3
					(50.36%)	(50.04%)	
25	Tripura	2013	6.02	8.3	115728 4	107562 2	92.9
					(49.07%)	(48.72%)	
26	Uttarakhand	2012	7.99	7.1	3024346	2060193	68.1
					(47.42%)	(48.33%)	
27	Uttar Pradesh	2012	8.52	8.7	57232002	34500316	60.3
					(44.89%)	(45.46%)	
28	West Bengal	2016	10.19	13.92	31842992 (48.29%)	26472289 (51.21%)	88.04

29	NCT of Delhi	2015	9.8	8.57	5920490 (44.47 %)	3936688 (44.05 %)	65.1
30	Puducherry	2016	6.1	13.3	494412 (52.48 %)	422427 (52.70 %)	85.44

CHAPTER-3

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND WOMEN IN KARNATAKA LEGISLATURE

The constitution of India is based on the principle of Equality and guarantees equality before law and equal protection of its citizens. It not only guarantees Fundamental rights and freedom but also prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, Race, sex and place of birth. However the question of applicability of these rights Needs to be properly addressed as such the issue of gender rights particularly in the political domain has to be interfaced since it involves many other domains In the society.

The important area were women have been inadequately represented is in Political sphere though article 325 and 326 of the Indian constitution guarantee political equality. But the right to equal political representation is still distant reality. PRI'S do have reservation for women but in parliament and state legislatures even after 65 years of Indian democracy have been negleted.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF KARNATAKA LEGISLATURE

KARNATAKA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The erstwhile princely state of Mysore under the rule of enlightened Wodeyar's was a progressive state and was harbinger of democratic Governance. The association of people with the administration of the state in an elementary form was started in the eighties of the 19th century. In March 1881 his Highness the Maharaja Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar assumed powers of the State. The Mysore Representative Assembly was inaugurated in the same year.

The establishment of a deliberative Assembly proposed by the Chief Commissioner of Mysore Mr. J.D. Gordon in 1879 as one of the conditions for transfer of Mysore to the Maharaja was not favoured by the then Government of India. The Chief Commissioner had suggested the formation of deliberative Assembly composed of eminent retired officials, representative of various sections and interests of the people. The Government of India did not favour the constitution of an Assembly as it felt that a deliberative Assembly, with no specific legislative, financial or executive authority possessing only the power of recording opinions which need not be accepted tended, to fall out of repute or develop into greater activity and influence than that might have been originally contemplated. The Viceroy while writing to the Secretary to the State, observed that it might be premature to introduce in the beginning an institution which had not yet been tried in British India.

However, an order for the constitution of the Assembly was issued by the Maharaja on 25th August 1881. The order stated that His Highness the Maharaja was desirous that the views and objects which his Government had in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they were intended and that he was of opinion that a beginning towards the attainment of this object might be made by an annual meeting of the representative landholders and merchants from all parts of the Province.

This may be regarded as the Magnacarta of the people of Mysore. It declared for the first time in the whole of the India that it is the duty of Government to set itself right in the eyes of its people. It recognized that it is necessary for a Government to convince the public about the worthiness of its motives and the soundness of its policies. In other words it is clear admission of the principle that a Government should submit itself to judgement and therefore to the guidance of its citizens.

The Representative Assembly met for the first time on 7th October 1881. At the inception it was an Assembly of the representative landholders and merchants from all parts of the province and these were to be selected (1) by the Local Fund Boards from among themselves and others of the district the persons who were to represent them; (2) from each taluk one

or two cultivating holders possessed of general information and influence among the people and (3) three or four leading merchants for each district generally, the attendance at the meeting was voluntary. In 1891 the principle of election was introduced. Persons paying certain revenue or mohatarfa which differed from Taluk to Taluk owners of alienated villages with certain beriz and graduates of Indian University were eligible for voting and for becoming members. The number for each taluk was fixed. The persons qualified under the rules were to meet annually in each taluk and elect from among themselves the number of members allotted to that taluk. The Municipalities and Associations were also allowed to depute representatives. The thinking was so progressive even then that voting right had been given to all those who attained the age of 18 and they could also become members of the Associations, were also to depute representatives. Everyone who had attained the age of 18 could be a voter or become a member. However, the age of a candidate was raised to 21 in 1924 and to 25 in 1940. In 1894 some more alterations were made. Only Municipalities with a population of 5,000 and more were permitted to send representatives. To enlarge the electorate the qualification for voters was fixed at half the land revenue of what was fixed for candidates. Graduates without property qualifications were not allowed to become member. The term of taluk member was fixed at three years and for others one year. In 1918 the disparity in the property qualifications for franchise in different taluks was abolished and uniform rate was prescribed for all taluks. The rate was also reduced. The distinction between the qualification for voting and membership was abolished. In 1919 larger representation was given to Municipalities and the term of office of these members and others whose term was only one year was raised to three years. The Regulation of 1923 fixed the term of the Assembly as three years.

In 1932 the seats in Taluks were readjusted on the basis of population. The system of proportional representation was introduced in 1932 for the election of members from the City Constituencies of Bangalore and Mysore. In 1935 the election of the members of the Assembly to the Legislative Council was discontinued as it was considered unnecessary to make a person member of two Houses.

The Representative Assembly which was constituted in 1881 by an Executive Order continued to function till 1923 when a Regulation was promulgated by the Maharaja under which the Assembly was given a statutory status.

The members of the Assembly were not initially invested with any recognised powers of privileges. But they were not passive listeners of the Dewan's speech. They made observations and suggestions in public interest which met with every consideration. They made useful contribution to the country by watching the working of the administration in all branches and brought to notice the defects and shortcomings.

Members did not have any limitations as to the range of subjects to be discussed. Inquiries were made of all sorts of things from the tenure of the Dewan's Office and the Constitutions of the Council to the mirasi huq of toti and throwing of a dam across a jungle stream of rain water.

The Assembly did not possess the power of voting. Members were representing that every proposed measure of Legislation should in the first instance be placed before the Assembly and its opinion taken thereon. The Government would not bind themselves though they were consulting on all important matters of Legislation. The main feature of the representative Assembly was representation to the Government by members.

Members had been urging from the early nineties of the last Century that a Member of the Assembly should be nominated to the Maharaja's Council. It was only in 1940 the Government agreed for such participation. The Government of Mysore Act, 1940, provided for the Constitution of a Council of Ministers to which the Maharaja would appoint two elected members, one from the Assembly and another from the Legislative Council.

The Dewan, and in his absence the Members of the Executive Council used to preside at the meetings of both the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. In 1940, Legislative Council was enabled to elect its own President and Vice-President from among its members to preside at its meeting. But in the case of the Assembly this right was not conceded. The Dewan and in his absence the Members of the Executive

Council continued to preside on the ground a Non-official president being merely an Officer of the House and having no connection with administration, would not be in the same advantageous position to deal with Representation as the Members of the Administration

KARNATAKA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The Legislative Council was established in 1907 with a view to associate with the Government a certain number of non-officials qualified by practical experience and knowledge of local conditions and requirements to assist Government in making Laws and Regulations. In addition to the Dewan, President and the Members of Council, who were ex-office members, the Council was to consist of not less than 10 and not more than 15 additional members to be nominated by the Government and of this number not less than two-fifths were required to be non-officials. The minimum and the maximum were increased gradually and in 1923 the strength of the Council was fixed at 50 and of these the number of non-official members was fixed at not less than 60 percent so as to ensure a decided non-official majority. Special interests like the Mysore University, Commerce and Trade, Planters and Labour were given representation. Seats for the Muslims, Christians and depressed classes were reserved and the Government nominated them if they were not elected. The strength of the Council was further increased in 1940.

Though the Council was started to make Laws, other functions were assigned to it in course of time. No measure could be introduced without the previous sanction in writing of the Dewan and the leave of the House duly obtained. Certain subjects were excluded from the purview of the Council and only Government could frame Law on such subjects. When there was urgency, Government themselves could enact Laws which would be in force for six months.

Interpellations are allowed to be put in the Council from 1914 onwards. In 1915, members were allowed to put supplementary questions.

The Council was empowered in 1914 to discuss the budget and in 1923 it was given power to vote on the demands for grants. They could move cut motions. It is noteworthy to find that certain items of expenditure which

were non-votable in British India were made votable items in the province. Resolutions were discussed in the Council from 1919 onwards.

In 1923, it was enacted that the Council will not have power to amend the Representative Assembly Regulation and the Legislative Council Regulations. The term of the members of the Council was made three years in 1917 and four years in 1940.

The 1940 Government of Mysore Act conferred certain privileges to the member. Freedom of speech in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was conferred on the members. The provisions were similar to the provisions in the Government of India Act 1935.

The inauguration of the Assembly was hailed throughout India as a very progressive and beneficial measure. One Nationalist Weekly, "The Mahratta", writing Eleven years after the establishment of the Assembly went so far as to say that "The British Government might do well to take a lesson from the enlightened Maharaja of Mysore". The institution was, however regarded by some as premature; but, as observed by Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, "the continued interest which the members evinced in Public Affairs and the practical commonsense which characterised the discussions had served to refute the assumption that the institute was in advance of the times".

After Independence, the Maharaja of Mysore by a Proclamation dated 29th October 1947 set up a Constituent Assembly to frame the Constitution for Mysore State. When the Constituent Assembly met, majority of the members pleaded for governance of the State by the Constitution to be framed by the Constituent Assembly of India, though strong views were expressed by a few in favour of a separate Constitute for Mysore State. Ultimately the majority view prevailed and the Constituent Assembly passed a Resolution that the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly of India should be made applicable to Mysore State. The Maharaja issued a proclamation on 25th November 1949, consequently the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council was dissolved on 16th December 1949; the Constituent Assembly which has been constituted in 1947 became the provisional

Assembly of Mysore until the Elections could be held under the Constitution.

The first Assembly under the Constitution was constituted in 1952 and composed of 99 elected members and one nominated member. With the formation of Andhra State in 1953, parts or adjoining Bellary District from Madras State were added to Mysore State and the Strength of the Assembly increased by five members.

The State were Reorganised in 1956 on linguistic basis. As, a result New State of Mysore came into being on 1st November 1956 with four districts from the former Bombay State, three districts of Hyderabad State, a district and a taluk of the Old Madras State, the State of Coorg and the princely State of Mysore. The State was renamed as Karnataka in 1973.

The Legislature of Karnataka consists of two House, the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The first sitting of the New Assembly was held on 19th December 1956 in the newly built Vidhana Soudha. The strength of the Assembly which was 208 in 1957 increased to 216 in 1967 and to 224 in 1978. The Assembly is now composed of 224 elected members and one nominated member.

The strength of the Legislative Council which was 63 in 1957 increased to 75 in 1987. The Council is now composed of 75 members out of whom 25 are elected by Legislative Assembly members, 25 are elected by Local Authorities. 7 are elected by Graduates and by the Teacher's and 11 members are nominated by the Governor of Karnataka

Karnataka is one of the six states in India having bicameral legislature Comprising two houses. According to 2011 census the state of Karnataka has 49.1% women population. From 1st assembly to the present women representation has never crossed 9%. Women are poorly represented at higher leadership even historically it is observed that the women participation in Karnataka legislature is under represented. The table below justifies it from 1st to 13th legislative assemblies.

The table below represents women in Legislative Assembly

Assemblies	Year	Total No of seats	No of women elected	Representation of women in terms of %
1	1952-57	80	01	2.6
2	1957-62	179	13	7.2
3	1962-67	208	18	8.6
4	1967-72	216	05	2.3
5	1972-77	216	Nil	Nil
6	1977-83	224	08	3.5
7	1983-85	224	01	0.4
8	1985-89	224	08	3.5
9	1989-94	224	10	4.4
10	1994-99	224	07	3.1
11	1999-2004	224	06	2.6
12	2004-08	224	06	2.6
13	2008-2013	224	05	2.2
14	2013-14	224	06	2.6

Ref: Election Comission of India

Out of 14 assemblies the 3rd assembly got highest representation of women. 5th assembly worked without women representation. There are ups and downs in the women representation, after 8th assembly the representation gradually decreased.

The table below represents SC/ST women in Legislative assembly

Assemblies	Year	Total No of seats	No of women elected	Representation of women in terms of %
1	1952-57	80	NA	NA
2	1957-62	179	Nil	Nil
3	1962-67	208	03	1.4
4	1967-72	216	01	0.6
5	1972-77	216	Nil	Nil
6	1977-83	224	03	1.3
7	1983-85	224	Nil	Nil
8	1985-89	224	04	1.7
9	1989-94	224	04	1.7
10	1994-99	224	02	0.8
11	1999-2004	224	03	1.3
12	2004-08	224	Nil	Nil

13	2008-13	224	Nil	Nil
14	2013-18	224	02	0.8

Ref: Election Commission of India

Out of the thirteen assemblies SC/ST women representation has not crossed 2%. 2, 5, 7, 12 and present assembly representation is absent SC/ST women. Highest representation credit goes to Non- Congress regime(1983-89)

Reasons for the Weak or Under represented

- Rigidity of social structure of society in the beginning of independent India.
- Lack of Political awareness among women
- Political society being vulnerable to women
- Political parties unwillingness to accommodate women as contestants
- Scarcity of the existence of women leadership

Women in Council of Ministers

Assemblies	**Year**	**Name of Minister**	**Portfolios**
1	1952-57	No	No
2	1957-62	Grace Tucher	Deputy for Education
		Leelavathi V Magadi	Deputy for rural Industries
3	1962-67	Yashodhara Dasappa	Social welfare
4	1967-72	No	No
5	1972-77	Vaz.E.E	MOS for food and civil supply, MOS for Primary and Secondary education, MOS for excise and development

		Manorama Madhwaraj	MOS for major and medium irrigation, MOS for Women and Children welfare
6	1977-83	Manorama Madhwaraj	MOS for Women and Children welfare
		Nagamma C Keshavamurthy	MOS for Primary and Secondary education
		Renuka Rajendran	MOS for Youth service and Sericulture, MOS for small scale Industries and sericulture
7	1983-85	Chandraprabha Urs	Social Welfare and Excise
8	1985-89	Pushpavathi	MOS for Social Welfare, MOS for Women and Child Welfare
		Leelavathi R Prasad	MOS for Primary and Secondary education, MOS for Information and Culture
		Shivakantha Chatur	MOS for Women and Child Welfare
9	1989-94	Nagaratnamma K.S	MOS for Health and Family Welfare, MOS for Planning Institutational Finance and Static's
		Nagamma C Keshavamurthy	MOS for Large and Medium scale Industries, MOS for Primary and Secondary education
		Suma Vasanth	Deputy for small scale Industries, MOS for Institutational Finance and Static's
10	1994-99	Leelavathi R Prasad	MOS for minor Irrigation, MOS for Kannada and Culture
		B.T Lalitha naik	MOS for Women and Child Welfare
		Vimala Bai J Deshmukh	MOS for Women and Child Development
11	1999-04	Motamma	MOS for Women and Child Development
		Nafeesa Fazal	MOS for Medical Education, MOS for Science and Technology
		Suma Vasanth	MOS for Planning and Muzarai
		Rani Satish	MOS for Prisons and Parliamentary affairs, MOS for Kannada and Culture
12	2004-08	Bhagirathi M Gowda	Women and Child Welfare

13	2008- to Date	Shobha Karndlaje	Panchayatraj, Energy
14	2017	UMASHREE	Women and child Welfare
15	2017	Mohankumari	sugar

Ref: Research and Reference Section Vidhana Soudha Bangalore

From 1951 to the present 23 women ministers represented the council of ministers, Monarama Madhwaraj, K.S Nagarathnamma, Leelavathi R Prasad and Suma Vasanth were successful in getting ministries in second term also. Among the women ministers Renukha Rajendran, Pushpavathi, Shivakantha Chutre, Motamma, B.T Lalitha Naik represented SC and ST respectively

K.S Nagarathnama was the only one women leader being elected as a seven times from Gundulpet constituency. She served as a 6^{th} speaker. The present minister only one women Shobha Karndlaje has a important portfolio. Motamma, Suma Vasanth and Bhagirathi M Gowda were Cabinet Rank Ministers. It has been observed that Women are allotted soft port folios such as women and child welfare, Primary education , social welfare.

CHAPTER-4

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to find out whether rise in the numerical representation of women in political decision-making can lead positive changes in the participation of women so that it can pave the way for political empowerment of women. The study developed a theoretical view on the multiple effects of gender quotas on women empowerment and found out the factors that facilitate and restrain the entry and participation of women in political field. To evaluate the impact of gender quota to the women´s political empowerment nine concepts were prepared which included: *Political knowledge, Political interest, Political participation, Political trust, Political contacts, Political protests, Gender role attitude, Public Projects and Confidence.* The data of the present study reveals that the gender quota had a very positive impact on the political knowledge of women as most of the elected women representatives have a good knowledge about the political activities and *panchayat* works and after gaining a good knowledge about political activities these women become more interested in political works. Political knowledge seems to be accompanied with increased levels of women taking interest in politics which is very important for the political empowerment, and in this sense the reservation has had a strong impact on empowerment. The reservation system has also effected positively on women‘s confidence which is an important sign, the not only for politics but for the overall empowerment of women. The system has given a platform to the women to interact with social and political entities, resulting in that they have become more visible and gained the confidence to perform their duties for the betterment of their people. The women reservation system has also been supportive to women in protesting on issues like alcoholism, dowry disputes, divorces and girl-trafficking. But there are some other areas where it seems that reservation has not been very effective. As far as the political participation is concerned, the overall related data in the present study reveals that women are very keen to learn about the participation techniques but that there is still a big gap to be bridged regarding the participation in decision making process. As we can see from the data, the reservation has not resulted in increased political trust in the political parties, although these

women have trust for the political system. The reason behind this, as found in the discussion with the women representatives, is a process where political parties are bound to nominate a woman because of reservation and this process resulted in the distrust for the party. Similar result can be found in the category of political contacts where the data shows that the gender quota system seems to be far away from having a positive effect on women`s political contacts.

The main contribution of the present study is that it suggests a different dimension to measure the impact of reservation on empowerment by adding a new category which has not get attention by the previous researchers: the initiation of new public projects started by the women representatives. The data of the study reveals that apart from routine activities of the *panchayats* these women representatives have tried to start some public projects but there is a need for the support from government so that they can get more funds. Concerning the gender role attitudes in the political field the women representatives indicated that they feel that they are not treated equal to men in the political arena. According to these women, men did not give any importance to them, and women were never informed.

When inquired about the factors that facilitate the entry of women in the political arena the women members identified that reservations for women is the most important factor that motivates and facilitates them to come forward into political life. Secondly, these women stated that they got the motivation from their family members and other people to come into politics. These women often required the help of their husband in sharing time consuming responsibilities of the household.

Constraints or the obstacles during women´s political entry and participation were judged by using the three broad concepts produced by Shvedova (2005). These three concepts are: Socio-economic obstacles, Psychological/Ideological obstacles and Political/Institutional obstacles. As far as socio-economic obstacles are concerned the present study found out some of the same obstacles which Shvedova has described. These include poverty and unemployment; lack of adequate financial resources; illiteracy and limited access to education and choice of professions; and

dual burden of domestic tasks and professional obligations. While psychological/ideological obstacles are concerned lack of self-confidence, traditional norms, negative attitude of their surroundings and lack of media attention were found out that clearly supports Shvedova´s work. It is very interesting to discover that the women who contested elections on their own initiatives faced more problems within and outside the family in comparison to women who contested elections on the initiative of their husbands or family members. In the category of political/institutional obstacles the present study suggests one more obstacle that is `prevailing political culture´ besides Shvedova´s obstacles which includes the role of political party, kind of electoral system and the role of women organizations.

In summery it can be said that the government of India is trying to empower the women through various economic/socio/political policies and programs but there are still some gaps to be bridhed. The result of the present study shows the reservation for women in the *panchayats* motivates them to come forward in political field. In conclusion, it can be stated that the reservation for women can be an important impetus to women‘s empowerment in India on village level but that it is not a guarantee for the participation of the elected women.

The goal of women‘s empowerment will not be accomplished by reservations alone, and there are a number of obstacles identified by the respondents. It can be noted that there are more restraining than facilitating factors for the entry and participation of women in political arena, and it is equally interesting to find out that the restraining factors are so many and so diverse. Steps are being taken to overcome these hindrances, but it is a very time-consuming process. A structure, which has been created over centuries, cannot be dismantled within a short span of time. To expedite and speed up this process it is essential to implement some supplementary policies which encourage the self-confidence of women, build women‘s capabilities and remove operational obstacles. There is a need to change many aspects of the existing gender relations, power distribution and to take hard decisions concerning power-sharing. While it cannot be claimed that women are categorically empowered though these reservations, it cannot be denied that they have gained a

certain extent of authority and confidence as a direct outcome of the quota. In this respect it appears that the quota can be a feasible tool for the political empowerment of women

Observation;

The need of the hour is to initiate some measures for maintaining adequate women representation in the legislature

- To enact women reservation bill pending in Loksabha immediately.
- To amend 91st constitutional amendment act 2003 to secure 1/3rd representation of women in the 15 percent council of ministers.
- Proper representation of women including Anglo-indian, SC, ST and OBC's are very much needed.
- To ensure that chief minister must allot important port folios not limiting their functions to women and child development primary education etc.,
- NGO's to form of women's collectivities, association, co-operatives and union to develop into support structure to strengthen women political participation and representation

The political parties should educate and organize women about right to vote and right to contest election.

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